

ABSTRACT

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(Under the direction of Tim Marr)

The United States Federal Government takes responsibility for protecting women when they are citizens, but when the government serves as an employer for the National Park Service (NPS), the government is not protecting female employees from mistreatment. Over the last century, the government has granted women the right to vote, pay equality, and civil rights, but women's experiences with the NPS did not merit the same efforts of inclusion. Women associated with the NPS faced issues of not having the right to work, job inequality, as well as sexual assault, discrimination, and harassment. The relationship between the protections given to all female citizens and the experiences of women in the NPS is a contradiction. The federal government created protections and systematic change, but the NPS, a federal agency, did not fully implement the change. This thesis analyzes the NPS to understand how the oppressions are the result of patriarchy. At the beginning of the 20th century, Park Ranger's wives aided in establishing national parks as a white male sphere. By the 1960s, more NPS employees were women, yet to become a Park Ranger, the NPS's female employees had to overcome discriminatory job titles and uniforms allotted only for men. All of the NPS's history had sexual harassment, but in 2014, women at the Grand Canyon unified to demand an investigation into sexual harassment in the workplace.

KEYWORDS: National Park Service, women, patriarchy, sexist language, sexual harassment, gender-based discrimination, Equal Rights Amendment, Yosemite National Park, Independence National Historical Park, and Grand Canyon National Park.

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INTRODUCTION

Fundamentals¹

In the summer of 2018, I worked for the National Park Service (NPS) at Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens in Washington, DC. My daily tasks varied from teaching conservation and the environment to schoolchildren to planning logistics for a weeklong celebration for the peak season for the garden's flowers. For me, putting on the Stetson was something I had always dreamed about, but the workplace was not as idyllic. While at work, male-Rangers asked female-Rangers to fill up their water bottles, heat their lunch, or to clean the kitchen and offices. Frequently, male-Rangers and sometime female-leaders reminded me that my gender made me incapable of doing my job.

The irony of our experiences is that we loved working for the NPS even when our park and the NPS did not treat us the same way. By the end of the summer, Kenilworth had two hostile work environment charges pending, but the majority of the witnesses and plaintiffs were summer seasonal staff. Therefore, our signed affidavits were the extent of the investigation. One hostile work environment charge was against the Chief Ranger. Even with the inquiry and mandatory leave during a portion of the celebration, he still won the Freeman Tilden Award, which is the highest award in the NPS for interpretation Rangers. Because of his offensive actions, the reward only brought injustice to his employees. They were the ones required to adapt and work in a hostile environment, while the perpetrator received honors.

¹ When new permanent Park employees are hired, then they are required to attend a one-week program in Washington DC and two-week program at the Grand Canyon called "Fundamentals" to learn about the NPS.

I quickly realized that my coworkers and I were not alone. A person of power mistreating workers was a national phenomenon for the NPS. Many different viewpoints, employees, and sources discussed this mistreatment. While at a career fair, one high-ranking NPS official simply stated that the hardest part about working for the NPS was the sexual harassment. Major newspapers were covering the experiences of sexual assault and harassment in national parks. Frequently, we received “Bison Connect” emails about Equal Employment Opportunity training, anti-sexual harassment updates, and apologies from lead officials for inappropriate behavior.

The frequency of gender-based discrimination was not confined to any particular park, era, or type of job. In order to examine the changes of women's role in the NPS, I decided to contextualize their narratives with the history of women's labor laws, anti-sexual harassment laws, and cultural norms, in specific parks over time. This multilayered history addresses the implementation of oppression during each era. Every period had a distinct way that the patriarchy manifested itself but its cultural legacy remained and remains constant. Patriarchy is “a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate oppress and exploit women.”² This description only encapsulates the idea of gender, but in practice, other discriminatory factors determine who reaps the benefits. This thesis will use patriarchy to examine how the oldest, white, male has too often used their authority to implement and enforce power within the NPS.

Polly Welts Kaufman initially did research on this topic and published *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* in 1996. Kaufman interviewed 340 NPS women employees

² Barbara Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations: Challenging Men* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 33.

and 43 wives.³ She shows that women have always been a part of the NPS even if the NPS's official narrative leaves out their stories. Kaufman argues that the increased female presence continuously combatted the issues of the male culture because the early Ranger wives dismantled the "militaristic/chivalrous culture."⁴ However, my research did not find this to be the case, because early Ranger wives aided in creating the patriarchy, and now women leaders still enforce conventional gender roles or biases in their leadership practice. My research argues that the NPS culture has long enforced gender biases and harassment.

The gendered notion of the environment began prior to the NPS. President Theodore Roosevelt saw these natural landscapes and outdoor activities as a way for boys to relieve excess energy and become better men for America.⁵ Roosevelt believed through strenuous exercise would create a man.⁶ He states that:

A life of slothful ease, a life of that peace which springs merely from lack either of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual.⁷

Therefore, the NPS emerged at a time that masculinity was searching for a definition and found that the answer was through the environment and nature. America sought to combat this by preserving natural landscapes. The notion of conserving land was America's way to compete with European's culture and history, because in comparison to Europe, America does not have a vibrant cultural or historical identity as a nation.⁸

At the beginning of the establishment of the NPS, the roles of women in the agency were

³ Polly Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), xxx.

⁴ *ibid.*, xxxviii.

⁵ Theodore Roosevelt, "The American Boy," *St. Nicholas*, May 1900.

⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," *Hamilton Club*, April 10, 1899.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Thomas Patin, "Exhibitions and Empire: National Parks and the Performance of Manifest Destiny" in *The Journal of American Culture* vol. 22, issue 1 (Spring 1999), 41.

not inheritably defined. Women assembled the General Federation of Women's Club, the American Civic Association and the Sierra Club, which successfully lobbied and passed the 1916 Organic Act. The Organic Act established the NPS and was rooted in an ideology of conservation dedicated to protecting our natural, historical, and cultural resources. In 1916, the Department of Interior, the agency above the NPS [See Appendix A], served over twelve national parks, nineteen national monuments, and two reservations.⁹ The NPS inherited jurisdiction over 4.6 million acres of land when it was founded.¹⁰ The Act states that the NPS should "provide for the enjoyment of [national parks, monuments, and reservation] and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."¹¹ Women's experiences are far from the Organic Act's mission. For Ranger's wives in 1916 they followed strict obedience and currently female-Park Rangers faced high rates of sexual harassment.

The Organic Act's hypocrisy in calling for the enjoyment of visitors and not protecting the dignity of all employees was not its only failure. The act was missing institutional elements to create a functioning agency.¹² It did not have funding allocations, nor did it determine who would be responsible for the protection, let alone what would be the distinguishing factors of a national park. Stephen Mather, the first Director of the NPS, called upon these same women lobbyists to create a newsletter with the purpose of advocating for funding expanding the NPS's power, and, most importantly, attracting people out west to parks.¹³

In 1935, when the Historical Sites Act expanded the NPS's jurisdiction to historical parks, the NPS left women out of American history. The void of American women's experiences

⁹ Horace Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service: Founding Years, 1913-33* (Salt Lake City & Chicago: Howe Brothers, 1985), 32.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ National Park Service Organic Act of 1916, 16 U.S.C. § 1-5e (1916).

¹² Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, 34.

¹³ *ibid.*, 38.

made history by the NPS only tell the involvement of the male population. Starting in the 1970s, women requested that the NPS added historic sites and national monuments for women.¹⁴ The first historic site devoted to a woman's life was in 1974.¹⁵ Clara Barton's home and workplace were preserved because she was the founder of the American Red Cross.¹⁶ Tours include the history of the organization and the life of Victorian Womanhood; thus, the NPS listed the site as "commemorating American women."¹⁷

Females wanted to be Park Rangers and to become one they were required to fight for inclusion and fair treatment, but Park Ranger is a bracket term that addresses all different types of jobs within the NPS. The main type that one thinks of is the interpretation-Park Ranger because this is the person that deals with communications, public tours, information, and at large everything with public encounters. They are responsible for teaching about stewardship and the park. The second type is protective-Park Ranger these people serve as the police force of the national parks. They are in more secluded parks and serve everywhere except for Washington DC, San Francisco, and New York City because these three locations have Park Police. Nevertheless, the protective-Park Rangers serves to protect the park and the visitors.

The NPS has two other divisions of employees. Cultural Resource and Natural Resource, which provide research support to the agency to preserve built and natural landscapes, respectively. Jobs in these divisions would range from historians to biologist. The final division of a national park would be Division of Facilities Management, which is responsible for maintenance and labor. They would work on ensuring the facility is clean and repaired. In

¹⁴ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, 224.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 224-225.

¹⁶ "Clara Barton National Historic Site," National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/clba/index.htm>.

¹⁷ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, 224-225.

comparison to the interpretation and protective, these two do not work with the public as regularly, but all of them wear the green and gray uniform.

For women to even be included in any of the following jobs then they were required to break the glass ceiling and the women who did break glass ceilings in the NPS are not memorialized or commemorated them. Women do not experience the fashion of memorialization that John Muir, Theodore Roosevelt, and Stephan T. Mather receive when remembered as the Fathers of the NPS and having trails, historical sites, and national parks named after them.¹⁸ Instead, the women who finally gain inclusion in the NPS were merely mentioned in newspapers as “a first female” and their sex overshadowed their credentials, work experience, and education. These women include people like:

*Barbara Booher*¹⁹
NPS’s First Native American Woman Superintendent
Serving at Custer National Monument

*Fran P. Mainella*²⁰
First Female Director of the NPS

*Jill Michalak*²¹
NPS’s First Female Packer
Serving at Glacier National Park

These aforementioned women broke barriers to successfully combat the masculine workplaces in national parks. However, these women did not obtain these titles at the same time that Alice Paul participated in hunger strikes for women’s suffrage or while “Rosie the Riveter”

¹⁸ “Visionary Leaders: Early Leaders of the Park Service Idea,” National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://home1.nps.gov/bestideapeople/index.html>.

¹⁹ “Women in the National Park Service: The First 100 Years,” National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/jotr/learn/historyculture/npswomen100yrs.htm>.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ Tristan Scott, “Woman Becomes Glacier National Park’s First Female Packer,” *Wyoming Tribune Eagle*, August 19, 2017, https://www.wyomingnews.com/news/from_the_wire/woman-becomes-glacier-national-park-s-first-female-packer/article_c709fbc0-856d-11e7-bd22-07397334df78.html.

encouraged women to join the workplace and do their part for the war efforts. Instead, Barbara Booher earned the job of Superintendent in 1990, before Americans had to specify which President Bush. Fran Mainella's tenure began with an appointment by the second Bush in 2001. Jill Michalak became a packer at the same time Unite the Right was terrorizing Charlottesville, VA in 2017.

The women are apart of the NPS but are not included fairly in its cultural memory. Instead, the promise of equal inclusion without oppression has yet to happen. Currently, women employees are still taking action to make the NPS become an inclusive workplace. Female Park Rangers merely wanted and continue to desire the opportunity to achieve their childhood dreams of becoming Park Rangers, no matter their sex. As a result, women within the NPS have recently engaged in activism. In 2014, victims in the NPS told about their accounts of harassment and discrimination by writing a letter to the Secretary of the Interior. An investigation discovered more than fifteen years of sexual harassment in the Grand Canyon's River District, leading the NPS to quickly realize that such behavior was widespread across national parks.²²

Sexual harassment occurs in many workplaces, but I choose the NPS to investigate for two reasons. The first reason is the accessibility to public records for governmental agencies and bureaucracies. For the government, the quintessential male workplace is the military, but the Armed Forces have sealed files that would not be accessible to investigate. Depending on the circumstances, NPS documents may be redacted or private because of the matter at hand, but at large the documents are available with the Freedom of Information Act. Second, the distinguishing factor compares with other bureaucracies is that the NPS is designed for public enjoyment and recreational use. The agency is rooted in the idea of rest and leisure, but many

²² *#InteriorToo: Addressing Sexual Harassment across the Department of the Interior Starts with Strong Anti-Harassment Policies* (Washington DC: Democratic Staff of the House Committee on Natural Resources, 2018), 16.

employees find hostility and harassment. The paradox between the NPS's mission of enjoyment and the employee's experience with harassment makes the NPS optimal for understanding the legacy of patriarchy.

NPS's landscapes are often so desirable for tourism because of their natural isolation. The isolation requires Rangers to live where their work is secluded in the forest, canyons, or seashores. When employees live where they work, then the margins between domestic and work life are often blurred. After 1916, this resulted in women's housework also being work for the NPS, because their home was within the workplace. The blurred margin is one reason for sexual harassment in the NPS because social parties and behaviors that would be appropriate at home are now in the workplace. Another impact of the isolation is that the national women's liberation movement did not affect as much change within the NPS in comparison to other more public places. Women associated with the NPS faced issues of not having the right to work, job inequality and sexual assault, discrimination, and harassment. The relationship between the protections legally given to all female citizens and the experiences of many women in the NPS is a contradiction. The federal government created protections and systematic change, but the NPS, a federal agency, did not adequately implement the change. To address and understand how the government was complacent in the lack of change in the NPS, my method of researching is through the use of primary sources from autobiographies, newspapers, and NPS studies, then placing these within the grander NPS and America for that era.

As a way of tracking the information from this method, I created a timeline for women in the nation and within the NPS. With this, I discovered grouping of major change concentrated. When a wave of feminism would occur in America, then the same wave of feminism would follow within the NPS. While this is not surprising since women in the park service are also apart

of the national female population. But what was striking was that women within America's society would be fighting for something grander and more liberal like the right to vote, equal pay, and equality, but the women in the NPS would be fighting for simply inclusion from being more than a wife to wearing the badge, and inclusion in equal treatment.

The NPS has male dominance and this thesis demonstrates how women experienced it for three eras in three different national parks. The eras represent different waves of feminism in America and how the increase national support for women was experienced in national parks. The government would grant women inherent rights and protections, but the NPS did not immediately implement the change into their culture. Therefore, each chapter addresses the new laws that women gained at the time, but simultaneously how women in the NPS did not experience the benefits.

The first chapter examines the founding of Yosemite in California, which had been administrated by the Army until 1914. It addresses the life of women in the early 20th century in national parks, illustrating how the politics of nature as a masculine domain resulted in women being limited to domestic work and other works that their husbands did not complete for which the women were not economically reimbursed. In this way, the first women serving in national parks aided in the creation of the Service's white patriarchal agency.

The ways that women supported the establishment of the patriarchy is detailed in *Bears in my Kitchen* by Margaret Merrill (née Becker).²³ Her autobiography gives insight into her life as a wife who was submissive to her husband at Yosemite National Park in the 1930s. She followed rigid gender norms and used his authority to enforce the patriarchy. She detailed how she used power gained from her husband to suppress people of color and younger Rangers. Her

²³ Margaret Becker Merrill, *Bears in My Kitchen* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956).

actions in the book were not empowering to women; however, her writing of her reminiscences in the 1950s was an act of power since she was able to give a voice to her experience.

The next chapter begins in 1961 when Independence National Historical Park began hiring women as park guides. This allowed women to enter the NPS without the isolation of the typical environmental parks. The women were employed as an experiment to add female charisma to the programs to empathize more with visitors.²⁴ The process of hiring women for the first time was detailed in *Interpretation in The National Park Service: A Historical Perspective*.²⁵ Women working in interpretation were found to be successful, but the NPS did not allow women to become full Park Rangers. Instead, job titles would be adapted to only extend to women. For instance, women could only be park-archeologists, park-naturalists, or park guides. These allowed women to work for the NPS and complete jobs identical to Park Rangers, but never to be granted a complete job title. Visitors did not see females as true NPS employees. They would call the women “rangerettes” or “nature fakers.”²⁶

This disparity in job titles continued to the uniforms worn by employees. The NPS selected a series of uniforms for women that over-feminized them by appealing to popular fashion, rather than addressing the needs of the working women. *Breeches, Blouses, and Skirts: 1918-1991* details the transitions of the uniform and how within 1960-1970, the NPS changed uniforms four times.²⁷ Women did not gain equality with job titles and uniforms until 1978.

Even when wearing a common uniform with male Rangers, the women’s experience in

²⁴ Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation In The National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: Department of Interior, 1986), 72-74.

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ Grace Lichtenstein, “Women Park Rangers Peril: Male Chauvinists Lurk Everywhere,” *The New York Times*, March 15, 1976, <https://www.nytimes.com/1976/03/15/archives/women-park-rangers-peril-male-chauvinists-lurk-everywhere.html>.

²⁷ R. Bryce Workman, *Breeches, Blouses, and Skirts: 1918-1991* (Harpers Ferry, W.V.: National Park Service History Collection, 1998), 47.

the NPS was not fully inclusive. Currently, the NPS has 38.7% of all employees reporting some form of harassment.²⁸ The NPS did not combat this issue by reforming nepotism, sexism, isolation, and silence, but rather by implementing practices that did not create adequate change. The NPS has always had sexual harassment within their parks, but now women are coming forward about their experiences. Chapter three addresses how the blurred margins of national parks result in the persistence of sexual harassment. The Grand Canyon's River District is a site with high rates of sexual harassment and women speaking up. Harassment of women persisted for fifteen years. In 2014, the women of the River District wrote the Secretary of Interior telling of their experiences, which called for an investigation.

The *Investigative Report of Misconduct at the Grand Canyon River District* is the government's public release of the investigation into the sexual harassment complaints in Grand Canyon. This document gave an account from a different point of views and included punishments.²⁹ The report addressed constant harassment towards women. The investigation gives a broad image on what occurred and does not have many details, thus many newspaper articles fill in information about their experiences.

The needs for this research are evident by the fact that labor laws are discriminatory towards different sexes. From the historical periods that women first entered the workplace, the government implemented protections that are discriminatory. Currently, the government is the largest employer in America and should serve as an example of inclusion. But instead, the nation has yet to discover why the exclusion of women persists in the workplace and remove these burdens. The government has legal precedents and acts that aim at granting equity and

²⁸ *Technical Report: National Park Service Work Environment Survey January-March 2017* (Ann Arbor: CFI Group, 2017), iii.

²⁹ *Investigative Report of Misconduct at the Grand Canyon River District* (Washington DC: Office of Inspector General for the Department of the Interior, 2016).

protection. The laws give rights to women, but the way that the laws are implemented do not allow full inclusion. Women are not legally allowed full equality even today. The Amendment is still not a part of the Constitution. The reach of America's government is limitless, but ironically the government fails to reach and protect its female bureaucratic employees. To understand this recent failure the history of labor laws that developed along with the establishment and evolution of the NPS must be addressed as the foundation of a male-dominated workplace.

CHAPTER 1

Women Establishing the Patriarchy at Yosemite (1916-1937)

In 1864, President Lincoln signed the Yosemite Grant, which founded Yosemite as a national park and America's first publicly owned, recreational, preserved land.¹ The state of California took responsibility to protect and preserve the land, but in 1906, it transferred the jurisdiction from California State to the federal government.² This was a complex measure because in 1906 the federal government did not yet have any agency such as the National Park Service (NPS) to do the work required to maintain Yosemite from poachers, settlers, and other encroachers.³ The solution that Congress created was to send Army troops to the park to take responsibility to maintain trails, preserve the land, and protect the park until a more permanent durable solution could be determined.⁴

U.S. Army troops were used to permanently protect the park from 1891 to 1914 when protecting democracy during World War I became a more pressing issue and the use of military force to protect natural resources seemed superfluous.⁵ This tension sparked political debates over soldiers protecting national parks rather than the nation.⁶ One solution to the management

¹ *Foundation Document Overview: Yosemite National Park* (Yosemite: National Park Service), 2.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, 32.

⁵ Shelton Johnson, *Invisible Men: Buffalo Soldiers of the Sierra Nevada* (National Park Service, 2012), 18.

⁶ Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, 45.

problem was to hire African American troops who served in Yosemite until the establishment of the NPS.⁷

Congress' original solution was to remove the troops, but they kept going back and forth on the decision, which resulted in the park's management being poor and sparse. When the soldiers left the park in 1913, Yosemite received more visitors than any of the other eight parks; thus, management was essential.⁸ In 1916 with the foundation of the NPS, the government did not lay out many logistics of how the Park Service would function. Thus, questions remained for the NPS and Yosemite to navigate such uncertainties, as how would the roles of the NPS be defined? What relationship would the NPS have with parks, the War Department, and other stakeholders? How would it receive funding?

The government knew that the NPS needed protections from capitalistic efforts to profit from the land, which would degrade the quality of the natural landscape, but did not know how to respond and was uncertain of a response. At the same time, women needed protections from capitalistic efforts to use women as cheap labor. The government supported women in establishing these measures, but the protections that were established were based on rigid gender norms. Jane Addams argued for single-sex protective laws, which are laws that granted the government the right to protect working women from harms by arguing for the primacy of sex

⁷ The buffalo soldiers fought against the Native American tribes and the tribes referred to the regiments as "buffalo soldiers". Their motivation to serve was to prove that they deserve citizenship from the Fourteenth Amendment and by joining they were capable of gaining economic and social benefits that would never have been experienced in the South. The duty of these men was to protect the timber and other resources from settlers moving to the west and to ensure the natural beauties would be preserved. The legacy of the regiment was seen in the physical landscape of the park at the time. In 1903, the buffalo soldiers built an arboretum that served as a quasi-museum for the park. See Shelton Johnson's *Invisible Men*.

⁷ Johnson, *Invisible Men*, 18.

⁸ Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, 64.

differences.⁹ She believed employment would hurt women morally and physically because she thought women were weak and needed the protection of men.¹⁰ Legislation and Supreme Court Cases granted sex-specific protective laws, which stipulated everything from women from wages, hours, marital status, and barred “dangerous occupations, defined variously as those that might injure health, welfare, or morals”.¹¹ These labor laws allowed working women to appear to be fragile and did not take into account that all of the working-class had strenuous hours in poor conditions and everyone needed protective labor laws.

Reformer supported the patriarchal idea that women were different from men and required someone to take care of them. Reformers, like Addams, believed that women needed suffrage and could be the housekeepers of society and that women would clean up the social ills of America.¹² Again, Addams argued for women’s needs but did so by enforcing gender roles and domesticity.¹³ In 1920, women gained suffrage and many women thought the next legislative step was the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which aimed to make all sexes equal. Reformers feared that the ERA would strip the women from their protective laws. The opposition stopped the ERA because it did not have a saving clause, which would keep the protective laws intact.¹⁴ Alice Paul brought the ERA to Congress every year but it never passed.

The Progressive Era was a time that the government granted women protections in the workplace and the right to vote. Thus, women were a part of the working population and in

⁹ Nancy Woloch, *A Class By Herself: Protective Laws for Women Workers, 1890-1990s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 6.

¹⁰ Jane Addams, “The Social Gospel in Action: Hull House,” in *Sources of the American Republic*, ed. Marvin Meyers, et al. (Glenview: Scott, 1961), 193.

¹¹ Nancy Woloch, *A Class By Herself: Protective Laws for Women Workers, 1890-1990s* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015), 9.

¹² Jane Addams, “Why Women Should Vote?” *Chicago Evening America*, March 30, 1911, <https://digital.janeaddams.ramapo.edu/items/show/7319>.

¹³ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 77.

¹⁴ Woloch, *A Class By Herself*, 112.

politics, but the NPS did not allow women to work for the government. The NPS made efforts to create their Park Rangers to be all male. Announcements aimed at attracting adventurous outdoor men. One from the *National Sporting* magazine reads:

It is true that being a Ranger has, for outdoors man, many advantages not found in other walks of life, ... and, if you're a little slow on the draw, you sometimes find yourself looking into the business end of a killer's gun. But first and always you are a gentleman—even if [another] fellow isn't. And although you may smile as you direct old ladies to the nearest comfort station, you are at times forced to be as firm and exacting as the law you represent.¹⁵

This account demonstrates how the NPS was shaping their workforce to be a masculine culture. Scholars have found that “occupational segregation has secured male dominance in the labor market, and secured women’s unpaid domestic service in within the family.”¹⁶ Which is evident in the NPS, because their image as a man’s workplace has yet to be abandoned.

One of the first women to be employed at Yosemite was Claire Marie Hodges in 1918. Hodges countered the Park Ranger’s masculine motif, but the male dominance of the workplace is not abandoned. Feminist labor scholar Bagilhole notices “gendering of occupation...is persistent even to the point where if women enter men’s work...does not affect their designation as ‘men’s work’.”¹⁷ In this incident, her employment did not change the male culture of the Park Service. The NPS accredits her as the first female Park Ranger, but this denotation fails to include that her employment was temporary.¹⁸

¹⁵ Merrill, *Bears in My Kitchen*, 71.

¹⁶ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 33.

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ Workman, *Breeches, Blouses, and Skirts*, 2.

Before becoming a Ranger, Claire was a teacher at Yosemite Valley School.¹⁹ The war efforts did not need her, thus she could serve in the NPS.²⁰ Once she became a temporary Ranger, the NPS offered her the opportunity to carry a gun and wear a uniform. She denied both and carried out traditional gender roles. She was setting a precedent for women never being equal to their male coworkers. Therefore, her actions allowed for the establishment of gender-based discrimination in the future fight for the same uniforms. Scholar Bagilhole would claim that this is the byproduct of society. She states “structural approaches see women’s work experience as shaped by patriarchal practices in the family and at work.”²¹

In order to add comfort during service in the field, the wives of Park Rangers moved with their husbands into national parks. The problem was that the families varied in size, but military housing was delegated based on rank and not familial necessities.²² Therefore one need was the reallocation of accommodations, but the new superintendents did not have the time to manage this task and the wives were in charge of negotiating the setup. Yellowstone exemplified the debate in women’s opinion. The first superintendent’s wife was in support of housing by rank, but then Grace Albright (née Noble), the new superintendent’s wife, was in favor of accommodations by the need of the family. She believed that it would make a community within the park.²³

The women were the ones who created and implemented the housing policy. The wives served alongside their husbands and were given the responsibility to arrange housing. Feminist labor scholar Cynthia Cockburn has found that “women’s relation to the domestic sphere...do

¹⁹ “Yosemite's Women,” National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/yose/learn/historyculture/women.htm>.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 96.

²² Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service*, 96.

²³ *ibid.*

not fit into the scheme of paid employment.”²⁴ For the ranger’s wives to serve their community, they had to do so only in a way that was rooted in domestic life. This creates a blurred margin of what was acceptable labor by women in the workplace, because they were doing unpaid domestic labor for the agency. The wives were doing their husband’s work because it was in the domestic sphere, which is beneficial to their husband’s career. Bagilhole states that “the assumptions made about the ‘wife’ role act positively in relation to men’s career progression and negatively for women.”²⁵ Thus the wives’ labor is beneficial to the Park Rangers because they are completing their work and it aids in their career development.

In the NPS, wives had so much power because they were integrated into the workplace. They had to stay obedient to their husband to maintain the power, but the women still had influences over the culture of the NPS. Margaret, née Becker, used her power to continue the practice of the patriarchy. Scholar Cockburn finds that “the dominant group sets assimilation as the price of acceptance,”²⁶ which was Margaret’s role in the NPS. She was a young, naive, teenager, who was a confessed “city girl,” when she married Ranger Bill Merrill in 1930.²⁷ She traveled and worked beside him. During the first seven years of their marriage, they were at Yosemite National Park. Afterward, they traveled and worked at different national parks on the west coast.²⁸ Margaret’s experience in Yosemite took place after the foundation of the NPS, but her narrative demonstrates how the NPS established a male-dominated culture in its beginning years.

Before their wedding, Margaret explained to her husband-to-be that her desire to live in the wilderness and her love for him was hard to differentiate.

²⁴ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 77.

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 150.

²⁷ Merrill, *Bears in My Kitchen*, 2.

²⁸ *ibid.*

I want to be certain it's you—not the forest. You see, I've always dreamed of living in the forest, the mountains, ever since I was a little girl in pigtails. Now you're offering to make that dream come true.²⁹

In the 1930s, men were granted more possibilities to have a wilderness lifestyle. Since her husband was a Park Ranger, he was destined to have many outdoor adventures. Her place within his work and experiences was that of proximity. Their marriage gave her possibilities, but she continuously had to be obedient to him.

Together, they founded a life together on love for one another, for nature, and on her obedience to her husband. When she moved from the city, she lost its common amenities and was unaccustomed to “roughing it.” Therefore, she became even more reliant on her husband. He taught her how to cook in the high altitudes, to drive in the snow, and to adapt to his work requirements. He was a lone Ranger, the only person stationed at that camp. Thus he needed her assistance to complete his many duties. In the summertime, four temporary Rangers would come and help him, but the rest of the year it was just the two of them. Her work consisted of everyday cooking and cleaning. She also completed his work by collecting fees and handling transportation in the snow, when he was unable to be at the entrance or to drive. No matter what job she was asked to do, her reaction remained the same: “I obeyed, automatically.”³⁰ Her obedience to her husband reinforced male dominance.

One morning, a Native American, which she called Indian Joe, tried to enter the park. His entrance was denied since he was drunk. The Native American said “Me not bad drunk, me good Indian.”³¹ Then Ranger Bill and Indian Joe began to fight, but inevitably Ranger Bill defused the situation by pulling his gun. After “Indian Joe” was handcuffed the couple finally enjoyed their

²⁹ Merrill, *Bears in My Kitchen*, 246.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 20.

³¹ *ibid.*, 59.

breakfast. Margaret was in the doorway of their cabin watching the whole exchange until she remembered that she was cooking. She ran into the home and tended to their food and continued watching from the kitchen.

The encounter does not take into account the historical traumas that Tribal Nations face from the American government. To start, the imagery of him being drunk is significant, because natives gained access to alcohol from Europeans, which is part of the legacy of colonization. Second, the Indian's line about being good denotes that he is uneducated, based on the broken sentence structure. However, Margaret never informs the reader if English is his second language or if he primarily spoke in his tribal tongue. Thus, she perpetuates the white ideology of illiterate natives. When Ranger Bill pulls his gun, then he is exercising a privilege that comes with his job as an official representative of the government. Margaret's negative characterization finishes with "our Indians are never predictable."³² In this case, she and Ranger Bill claim full authority over another race. She is still subordinate to her husband, but their white race allows her to exercise authority over another race. Her retelling of the incident reads like a western film: the cowboy or the Park Ranger saves the day from the bad, drunk Indian. Margaret here is using her authority in writing and retelling the incident to continue racist stereotypes as well as to participate in the establishment of white supremacy in the park.

In Yosemite supremacy was also enforced based on age. Margaret used maternal values as her authority over temporary Rangers. Every summer, Yosemite had an increase in tourists. At the Merrill's station, the NPS hired four temporary Rangers to complete the extra work. In the summer of 1934, four "Southern Gentlemen" worked under Ranger Bill. Margaret tells of their homesickness and inability to cook. To overcome the boy's yearning to return to the south, to the

³² *ibid.*, 60.

boys Ranger Bill began calling her “Aunt Marge.”³³ She would cook desserts for the southerners while he would tell adventure stories from his work with the NPS. They even became involved in their personal lives consoling them over their failed romantic relationships.³⁴

On the surface, she is being considerate and welcoming them into their home in Yosemite. However, the couple oversteps their authority when they punish them with extra labor after the men sneaked out one night. For punishment, Ranger Bill assigns a long day of physical labor. The temporary workers must use their strength and masculinity as a way to prove their worth to Ranger Bill. Their punishment enforces Ranger Bill’s authority over them. He uses his authority to enforce rigid masculinity as a way of leadership in the NPS.

Ranger Bill’s authority over the men extended to Margaret because he had the power that she could use through her proximity to him. His influence over them came from the hierarchy within the NPS. He outranked the temporary Rangers. She cared for them as if they were her children. Therefore, her gender role of motherhood allowed her to exercise the power of authority by completing domestic duties for the young men. These roles allowed Margaret to fulfill her maternal responsibilities without having to bear children.³⁵

Margaret’s obedience and dependency on Ranger Bill was her way of aiding the establishment of male superiority. Though she never explicitly stated that she viewed men as superior, her actions supported that belief. As a narrator, she emphasized traditional gender roles, racial stereotypes, and motherly responsibility. Her ability to aid in the establishment of patriarchy was the result of blurred domains. The house is the “domestic sphere,” but in the wilderness, the home and workplace were the same. Therefore, the roles that she takes up

³³ *ibid.*, 62.

³⁴ *ibid.*, 64.

³⁵ Margaret Sanger, “I resolved...,” in *Women’s America: Refocusing the Past*, ed. Linda K. Kerber, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 457.

impacted the work culture of Yosemite, because of her integration into the workplace while remaining in the home.

The unclear margin of gendered space is especially evident during one of the couple's camping trips. The couple went to Deer Camp, an outlying region within Yosemite. While at the campground, they hiked, camped, and most importantly cooked in the wild. Margaret's duty was to cook. One day, Bill went fishing while she was going to make beans but because of the high altitude, the food did not cook all the way. When Bill returned to the campsite, he had to cook the beans and the fish that he just caught.³⁶

Her limited education about cooking in high altitudes illustrates that one's gender does not necessarily make women better at domestic duties. Ranger Bill had to prepare the meal because of Margaret's apparent inability to do so, exemplifying that male's capacity could prevail over that of women even in the areas where she was allowed to play a role. She was not capable of completing the cooking.

The Ranger wives' duties to their family promptly became duties to the Park Service. The wives took their husband's role of authority to aid in the formation of the patriarchal culture in the NPS. Margaret Becker Merrill rationalizes her oppression throughout the book. Margaret often portrays herself as watching Ranger Bill complete a fantastic adventure from behind a tree or from a window. She did not fight off Indian Joe or wildlife but merely watched. Therefore, she was not even a protagonist in her book. As a result, *Bears in my Kitchen* is a great love letter to Ranger Bill. She detailed every adventure that he had, while she was watching.

When she is writing, however, Margaret has power, because she decides what to include and exclude. She chooses to have the entire book praise Ranger Bill. Her accolades to him stem from making herself, people of color, and young Rangers less than him, rather than letting his

³⁶ Merrill, *Bears in My Kitchen*, 2.

accomplishment build his ethos. She belittles everyone else and herself to help establish his authority. She does not even acknowledge the work that she is doing. Her domestic work was typical for the time, but Ranger Bill and the NPS relied on her to do any job to which he could not tend. As a result, her obedience was not only to her husband but also to the agency. The impact of her and many other Ranger wives was in aiding the establishment of a patriarchal culture in the NPS, which required her labor.

No one overlooked Margaret's role as a wife. Horace Albright, the former Director of the NPS, wrote the forward to *Bears in my Kitchen* in which he praises the work of Rangers' capability to find wives to aid in the Park Service.³⁷ He writes, "Rangers and their wives represent a fairly large and important section of government personnel, highly intelligent men and women, dedicated to public service."³⁸ The difference from the Park Ranger and their wives is that one gets a badge and a paycheck, while the other only has her husband.

Bears in my Kitchen shows masculine supremacy in the workplace, even when McGraw-Hill published the book with the forward in 1956. The time of the publication is important because Margaret was writing and editing it at the brink of second-wave feminism. That she is writing and publishing the book shows that women were fighting at that time for more working rights that do not follow the rigid gender norms of the early 20th century.

³⁷ *ibid.*, ix.

³⁸ *ibid.*

CHAPTER 2

Sexist Language & Uniforms at Independence National Historical Park (the 1960s and 70s)

The National Park Service (NPS) expanded their jurisdiction with the congressional passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935.¹ The NPS at that time assumed the responsibility to conserve and protect America's historical treasures as well as its natural wilderness.² As a result of this expansion, the NPS took over Independence Hall and many other built landscapes, which formed Independence National Historical Park.³ The park is in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and thus does not face the same problem of isolation that Yosemite and many other parks have. The employees do not live in the park and have the freedom to commute to work. While at work, the Rangers work in a historic square mile of 18 buildings that commemorate the American Revolution.⁴ The history that the site tells leaves out is women. Not even half-a-mile away is Betsy Ross's House, which is not included to Independence but was preserved by the city of Philadelphia, which opened the house for visitors to celebrate a place for women not included in the NPS narrative.⁵

For the NPS to run historical parks, then the agency had to transition the type of programs that were given to visitors. Visitors in historical parks want to learn about the history

¹ The Historic Sites Act of 1935, 16 U.S.C. § 410nn-1 (1935).

² Ken Burns, "'The Morning of Creation' (1946-1980)," in *The National Parks: America's Best Idea* (New York: Public Broadcasting Service, 2009).

³ "Independence National Historical Park," National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/inde/learn/historyculture/places.htm>.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ "Betsy Ross House," Historic Philadelphia, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://historicphiladelphia.org/betsy-ross-house/what-to-see/>.

and engage with Park Rangers, instead of only coming to environmental parks for aesthetic pleasures.⁶ Thus the male workforce had to begin working with the public in a more engaged and regular capacity. A new experiment was conducted at Independence National Historical Park in 1961; to hire women to serve as park guides. As a result, Independence hired three recent female college graduates as additional staff. The three women dressed in their uniforms that resembled those work by airplane stewardesses and did not have badges or Stetsons. The women did have a wealth of information about the historic park.⁷ Their knowledge was gained from an extensive training project that the park and its donors funded. The program gave the women readings, voice lessons, and field trips, which aimed to equip the women to handle a job that had previously been reserved for men.⁸ The women were responsible for demonstrating the capability of women to serve the NPS.

The women succeeded at making an impression to the NPS and the First Lady, Lady Bird Johnson, was amazed at the quality of their tours and programs. The following summer, she hired two of the women to give summer tours at the White House.⁹ Their presence and skills did not go unnoticed. The NPS was preparing for their semi-centennial of the founding of the NPS and these women spearheaded attempts to expand female careers beyond merely clerical work.

This was a historical period when women began to demand equality in the workplace and challenges official legal inequalities. During the newly elected President John F. Kennedy's first year in office, he created the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, which aimed to "prohibit federal agencies from discrimination against female employees in appointment and

⁶ Mackintosh, *Interpretation In The National Park Service*, 56.

⁷ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, 122.

⁸ Rogers W. Young, "Ladies Who Wear the Uniform of the National Park Service," *Planning and Civic Comment* Vol. 28, No. 1 (March, 1962): 4.

⁹ *ibid.*

promotion.”¹⁰ Then in 1963, Representative Edith Green proposed the Equal Pay Act (EPA), which was successfully passed and worked to address the gender pay gap by making it illegal for pay to discriminate based on sex.¹¹ The Equal Pay Act stipulates that employers may vary pay based on:

(i) a seniority system; (ii) a merit system; (iii) a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production; or (iv) a differential based on any other factor other than sex.¹²

Despite its attempt for equal pay, the effects of the EPA failed to benefit women because of the stipulations. Women are more likely to leave work for family matters; this will not be in the workplace as long as male employees.¹³ Therefore, the seniority system favors male employees. The next two are based on the quality of work, which is harder to prove to the Equal Employment Opportunity Committee and is the reason most people do not obtain equal pay.¹⁴ Any complaints to the committee must be filed 180-days after the first paycheck, but at that time most people do not know about pay discrepancy.¹⁵ All of this accumulates to demonstrate equal pay is still not obtained. Nonetheless, the many legislative efforts created the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed discrimination for marginalized communities in many different sectors.

This legislation laid the foundation for gender equality. One example is that it prohibited bureaucracies from gender-based discrimination, which allowed the American Civil Liberty

¹⁰“Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII,” in *Feminism in Our Time*, ed. Miriam Schneir (New York: Vintage, 1994), 71–75.

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² Equal Pay Act, 29 U.S.C. § 206 (1963).

¹³ Kim Parker, “Women More Than Men Adjust Their Careers For Family Life,” *Pew Research Center*, October 1, 2015, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/10/01/women-more-than-men-adjust-their-careers-for-family-life/>.

¹⁴ Charles B. Craver, “If Women Don't Ask: Implications for Bargaining Encounters, the Equal Pay Act, and Title VII,” *Michigan Law Review* 102, no. 6 (May 2004): 1104-1129.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

Union to begin influencing legislation for more national reform. The ACLU founded the Women's Rights Project in 1972. Ruth Bader Ginsburg was head of this project and it brought six gender discrimination cases to the Supreme Court.¹⁶ All of the arguments were to demolish laws rooted in misogyny by making them unconstitutional based on the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹⁷ Ginsburg also focused on passing the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which had been originally written by Alice Paul in the early 1920s. The ERA never passed because not enough states ratified the ERA before the expiration of the seven-year stipulation.

The three branches of government made efforts to grant gender equality. However, the NPS did not let female employees become Park Rangers because it was the morally correct thing to do; rather, the NPS's motives were to fix their problem with interpretive Park Rangers.¹⁸ Historical parks resulted in more public engagement that was repetitive. Many male Park Rangers did not like interpretation in National Historical Park, because it was not true to the NPS's "campfire-style" programs.¹⁹ They stated the jobs are "boring, unrewarding," and others claimed it was "not something for the alert and ambitious."²⁰ All of this resulted in Roy Applemans, the Chief of the Branch of Park History Studies, using sexism towards men to critique why the male-Park Rangers were not engaged with visitors with the public and act as guards, and why he was transitioning to hiring females.²¹

¹⁶ Neil A. Lewis, "The Supreme Court: Woman in the News; Rejected as a Clerk, Chosen as a Justice: Ruth Joan Bader Ginsburg," *The New York Times*, June 15 1993, <https://www.nytimes.com/1993/06/15/us/supreme-court-woman-rejected-clerk-chosen-justice-ruth-joan-bader-ginsburg.html>.

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ Mackintosh, *Interpretation In The National Park Service*, 72–74.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, 122.

²¹ Mackintosh, *Interpretation In The National Park Service*, 72-74.

More women could start filling the positions that the men did not want because interpretation jobs at Independence did not require a college degree.²² This fed into scholar's definition of "women's work [being] more likely to be labeled as unskilled."²³ The education stipulation was important because at the time more men had college degrees than women.²⁴ This allowed for women to be hired for interpretation work service-wide during the 1960s.²⁵

The female interpretation Rangers initially served mostly in historical sites.²⁶ Slowly, women's employment expanded to interpretation Rangers across the NPS in all type of parks.²⁷ Their feminine attributes made Appleman believe that they were better.²⁸ Women's work defined by scholars is "being good at interpersonal relationship and to focus on people and emotion."²⁹ Appleman's critique of men was based on stereotypes, but ironically it was against men and favored women. His critique gave women the potential to work for the NPS and women took advantage of these opportunities at high rates. In the interpretation division of Park Rangers, women equaled or exceeded men in most parks by the 1980s.³⁰

²² *ibid.*

²³ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 47.

²⁴ "Percentage of the US Population Who Have Completed Four Years of College or More from 1940 to 2018, by Gender," US Census Bureau, February 2019, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/184272/educational-attainment-of-college-diploma-or-higher-by-gender/>.

²⁵ Mackintosh, *Interpretation In The National Park Service*, 72- 74.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 47.

³⁰ Mackintosh, *Interpretation In The National Park Service*, 72- 74.

The irony in Appleman's critique is that male and female ranges had different appearances in uniform. Image 1 shows how women embodied a meeker presence in comparison to men. The male uniforms at the time, which is still used today, are notorious for being strict, rigid, and embody the legacy



Image 1: Ranger-Archeologist at Walnut Canyon National Monument in 1962³¹

of the military in national parks. The legacy of the military is in the flat hat, which came from the military.³² The uniforms for men have consistently been green pants with grey shirts with an arrowhead on the right arm. The flat hat has a leather band with sequoia cones, which matches the belt. However, there is variation in the uniform based on the type of work and the weather at the site, but the green and gray is distinguishable for the public. Scholars find that differences in uniforms is a “structure of symbol and interpretation around [gender differences], which can distort and exaggerate them.”³³

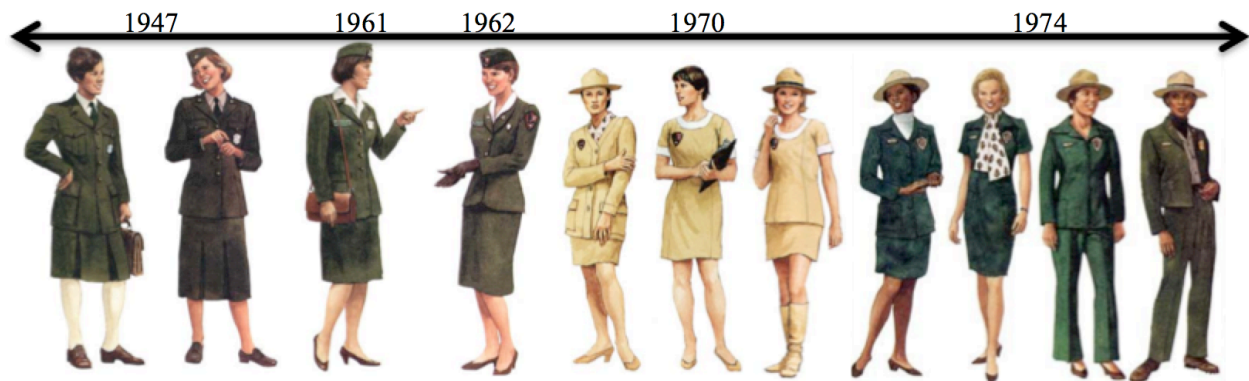
Female uniforms in the 1960s did not personify the same connotation of power in comparison to males. The design worn by women made them more ornamental features. Their attire put more emphasis on the style of the time, which resulted in the impracticality of the skirt and heels while doing jobs like hiking. Over two decades, the NPS altered female uniforms four

³¹ Workman, *Breeches, Blouses, and Skirts*, 63.

³² “NPS Uniform Collection FAQs,” National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/hfc/nps-uniform-collection-faqs.htm>.

³³ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 154.

times.³⁴ The changes included everything from fabric, hat, symbol, and shoes, but the ensemble still failed at making women equal to their male counterparts, no matter the change or the reasoning. The differences between male and female uniforms were a very blatant separation of sexes.



Timeline of Female Uniforms within the Era³⁵

For women in 1961, the uniform was a skirt with a white shirt, green jacket and a garrison hat with the NPS arrowhead. The rain jacket was the only part of the outfit that was gendered-neutral.³⁶ Instead of wearing a badge, women wore a silver arrowhead pin.³⁷ Superintendents had the authority to issue badges to women and at some parks they did, but their uniform material was not thick enough hold up the badge, and the location was too low when pinned to a woman's chest.³⁸ All these issues and inconsistencies affected the visitor's response to the physical presence of Rangers. The visitor's different treatment of Park Rangers was based on the employee's sexes. Many female employees talked about how visitors would assume that they were not Rangers because they did not have a badge or a Stetson.³⁹

³⁴ "NPS Uniform Collection FAQs."

³⁵ Drawings from Workman, *Breeches, Blouses, and Skirts*.

³⁶ Workman, *Breeches, Blouses, and Skirts*, 20.

³⁷ *ibid.*, 22.

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ *ibid.*

The uniforms in 1961 and 1962 resembled the attire worn by airplane stewardesses, even though the job demands were very different. The NPS response to women's dislike of their attire was to allow women to be stakeholders in discussions about the alterations of these uniforms. The women made lists of what the new uniform needed to address.⁴⁰ The needs of the women varied based on jobs ranging from more professional work with the military to more practical jobs in the wilderness. The unanimous opinion was that their current hats were "unattractive, dated, and a threat to their hairdos."⁴¹ The NPS gave women a voice in what they wanted from their workplace, but the NPS did not listen enough to alter their uniforms.

Finally, in 1970, the new female uniforms were premiered at an exclusive fashion show at Independence National Historical Park. The new uniforms were khaki because the female-designer thought the color showed "the roots of our natural heritage to the colors of earth, sand, and sun."⁴² The designer opted for more fashionable rather than a more reasonable style to the new uniforms. The uniform evolved to include shorter skirts and go-go boots.⁴³ Once again, the uniform showed women as an ornament to the NPS, rather than a member of the working force. The 1970 uniforms even had a special orange popover for Ranger's wives to wear, while they are "performing special duties or acting as a hostess."⁴⁴ This addition shows how the earlier gendered roles held by Ranger's wives were still valued by the NPS.

The 1970 uniforms perpetrated the same issues as the 1962 uniforms. The public still could not distinguish the difference between the general public and the female Rangers. The synthetic material melted when the Rangers were fighting brush fires.⁴⁵ The women's flat hat

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 32.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, 27.

⁴² *ibid.*, 33.

⁴³ "NPS Uniform Collection FAQs."

⁴⁴ Workman, *Breeches, Blouses, and Skirts*, 34.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 42.

was not durable enough to hold up in regular duty.⁴⁶ Even when female-Rangers had the same job, rank, and title as the male Rangers, they were still not equal in attire.⁴⁷ In 1974, the uniform changed again to be more practical, but it always emphasized style over equality. These multiple changes resulted in delay because of the manufacturer not being able to create new uniforms at such high demand.

In 1978, a class action court case was filed against the NPS. The class action withdrew the case when the NPS gave women equivalent uniforms with badges in the spring of the same year.⁴⁸ This success is the same that scholars have found in other non-traditional work environments, as women would wear “men’s clothes, which disguise any notion as a feminine form.”⁴⁹ The new uniform was compatible with male uniforms with the badge, flat hat, and color scheme, but they also gave women choices. They could decide whether they wanted to wear a skirt or pants in the workplace. Inevitable, the battle over uniforms was not trying to force all women to wear uniforms that were compatible with males, but rather for the women to have a choice in the workplace of displaying their femininity.

In 1972, gender divides expanded beyond uniforms into the difference in training provided for male and female employees. At the Yosemite Ranger-Training Program, the trainees were divided based on sex. The men watched a documentary about the park and women discussed with stewardesses from Bonanza Airlines about how to use wax to remove hair from their legs and face.⁵⁰ The strict personal hygiene lesson was impractical because women at Yosemite could not be guaranteed access to hot wax. One trainee even asked the stewardess, if

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman’s Voice*, 139-142.

⁴⁸ “NPS Uniform Collection FAQs.”

⁴⁹ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 154.

⁵⁰ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman’s Voice*, 132.

she could heat the wax on an open fire.⁵¹ This practice ended when women insisted that the Washington personnel office revoke beauty education.⁵² Once again this example consolidates the fact that women's physical presence in the Park Service was more important than their value to the work environment.

The value and contribution of women were also demeaned when the general public called them names like "rangerettes" or "nature-fakers."⁵³ The NPS also used language to undermine their authority. The women carried the work of Park Rangers but were titled park guides, park archaeologists, ranger-historians, and ranger-naturalists. The women were not considered Park Ranger because of the "rugged, and sometimes hazardous, nature of the duties."⁵⁴ Therefore, before 1969, women were restricted to apply only to a select type of jobs.⁵⁵ These selected jobs were linguistically structured never to be a full Park Ranger. This allowed for the continuation of the tradition for Park Rangers to be reserved for only men. Not only was this a use of sexist language, but it was also a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII. The offense is against section 703 of Title VII, which states "it shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer... to classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment adversely affect his status as an employee."⁵⁶

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 aimed to protect marginalized communities but in doing so the Act also perpetrated misogyny. All of the pronouns are male. The same is the case for *Interpreting Our Heritage*, which is a book by Freeman Tilden aimed at teaching interpretation Rangers about how to engage and teach visitors most effectively. It was published in 1957. Many

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² *ibid.* This account is only recorded from an interview in *National Parks and the Woman's Voice* and the encounter with the Washington officials is not dated.

⁵³ Lichtenstein, "Women Park Rangers Peril: Male Chauvinists Lurk Everywhere," 1976.

⁵⁴ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, 126.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 131.

⁵⁶ The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII), 42 U.S.C. 1981 (1964).

parks still give it to interpretation Rangers on their first day. On my first day, the Chief Ranger, the same one that won the Freeman Tilden award, gave me the book. The use of male pronouns was most prominently used within the text when referring to Park Rangers and visitors.

He [the visitor] takes it for granted that the latter possesses special knowledge that he himself lacks, and he respects both that knowledge and the possessor of it (especially if he is in uniform) to exactly that extent.⁵⁷

It is true that at the time of publication, the majority of the Rangers were males. Interpretation staffs were females at sites governed by state park systems, non-profits, or private agencies. Within the NPS, women were emerging as interpretation staff.⁵⁸ The book weakens the potential legitimacy of women as Park Rangers. The book also assumes that all visitors are male. When the book was expanded in 2007, the use of male pronouns was continued. Once again, the use of sexist language was a way that the patriarchy's legacy persisted in an era of gender inclusion.

After woman gained a place in the NPS for doing more than clerical work, they still had to struggle to reshape the use of language to create fuller equality. The sexist language was itself a form of oppression. Scholars have found that sexist language is “a system in which “mam” in the abstract and men in the flesh are privileged over women.”⁵⁹ The sexist language can include explicit derogatory speech but more commonly comprised of words that use a male generalization. Linguistic sexism is a way that society both intentionally and unintentionally feeds into a gender binary culture because words will and specific gender are automatically

⁵⁷ Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage: Fiftieth Anniversary* (Chapel Hill: UNC-Press, 2007), 36.

⁵⁸ Mackintosh, *Interpretation In The National Park Service*, 72- 74.

⁵⁹ Sherryl Kleinman, “Why Sexist Language Matters?” in *Qualitative Sociology*, (Chapel Hill, NC: Human Sciences Press, Inc., 2002), 300.

associated. This sexism is made essential because its reality is based in a constructed language norm.⁶⁰

This patriarchal oppression continues to shape this era and inevitably illustrates another means by which women must struggle on a national scale to gain inherent rights. The NPS did not implement the change immediately. In this era, women earned equal pay, equal employment opportunities, and legal protection; however, the women in the NPS were just getting started in non-clerical work and had to fight for job equality, even after it was nationally mandated.

However, even when different sexes were doing the same job, the uniforms they were required to wear or the job titles either undermined the equality of women. Scholars emphasize that “once a job becomes associated with one gender...the perception of it as a potential job for members of the opposite sex is less likely.”⁶¹

The account of Independence National Historical Park is not only a story of women being liberated from doing merely clerical work in the NPS. It is also a memory of the many women and their male allies who ignited social change on the national level, within an agency founded on military tradition and male control. The new female Park Rangers were excluded from the workplace by uniforms and sexist language. However, when granted the opportunity to work for the NPS, then the women joined at high rates and proved their capability. Nevertheless, the resiliency of the women shined through and women ultimately gained the right to wear a badge of equal dimension in 1978.⁶²

Since 1978, sex-based oppression in hiring practices is still in need of reform within the NPS. Currently, Chief Ranger Michelle Schonzeit is suing the NPS for discrimination. She felt overlooked when applying for law enforcement jobs. She believes her sex is the reason for not

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 299-304.

⁶¹ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 45.

⁶² Workman, *Breeches, Blouses, and Skirts*, 49.

receiving the position. She contacted the supervisor who stated: “I have hired women in the past, and I do not believe women should be in law enforcement leadership positions.”⁶³ The root of her argument is that her male colleague got promoted two pay grades to receive the job, while she was currently serving the same position at another park and within the same pay bracket.⁶⁴ She finally, accepted a job at the same level as her current GS-14 job. Her new job is at the Independence. Thus the park which women first gained the right to work as “park guide,” and new uniforms were announced is the same site that a woman today sought equal employment and after being denied at another park. This example illustrates how the NPS, no matter which historical era, has challenges escaping a heritage of misogyny.

⁶³Rob Hotakainen, “Lawsuit: ‘The #MeToo Movement Has Now Entered ... Interior.’” *Environment & Energy News*, December 21, 2018.

<https://www.eenews.net/greenwire/2018/12/21/stories/1060110421>.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

CHAPTER 3

Sexual Harassment at the Grand Canyon (2000-Present)

For centuries before the Grand Canyon was protected by the National Park Service (NPS), Pueblo people, Native Americans in the Southwest, lived in the Canyon.¹ But to settlers, the Grand Canyon was referred to as “The Great Unknown” because Western maps would leave the American desert blank.² To fill in the vacant charts, explorers began mapping, documenting, and understanding the Colorado River, in the 1860s.³ In the 1890s miners started to exploit the marble canyon but instead found that they were financially more successful in tourism. These men would serve as tour guides, provide accommodations, and offer other visitor services. The canyon became a forest reserve in 1893, and then in 1919, it was designated as a national park.⁴ The NPS designation attracted tourism, which developed business and brought the Santa Fe Railroad to the South Rim in 1901.⁵ In 1975, the Grand Canyon National Park Enlargement Act expanded the geographical margins of the park, which supported over two and half million visitors and the park became a World Heritage Site in 1979.⁶ With the development, expansion, and recognition, it is no surprise that the park had more than six million visitors in 2018 and a

¹ “People at Grand Canyon,” National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/grca/learn/historyculture/people.htm>.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

⁴ “Park Statistics at Grand Canyon,” National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/grca/learn/management/statistics.htm>.

⁵ “People at Grand Canyon.”

⁶ “Park Statistics at Grand Canyon.”

total of 218,121,627 visitors from 1919-2018.⁷ The evolution from miners to six million visitors was all supported by the NPS, which expanded with the park. In 2017, the Grand Canyon National Park had 382 personnel working in five different branches to maintain the 1,904 square miles national park.⁸

Grand Canyon is the fifteenth national park in America and became a park three years after the NPS was founded. From the start, the Arizona Chapter of the General Federation of Women's Club called for support of the Grand Canyon becoming a national park, similar to the national chapter calling for the passage of Organic Act of 1916 founding the NPS.⁹

The Grand Canyon has the NPS culture of nepotism, sexism, isolation, and silence rooted in the park. Pauline Mead Patraw was hired as a ranger-naturalist instead of as a Park Ranger at the Grand Canyon in 1929.¹⁰ As at other parks, women were not able to become full Park Ranger until 1966, when women gained the job title but not the uniform. Since then, the uniform and job titles finally included women, but a new form of oppression has come to light: sexual harassment. In the NPS, an estimated 38.7% of park employees had experienced harassment, assault, or both in 2016-2017.¹¹ The harassment occurred more than once for 63.0% of the cases.¹² Grand Canyon officials were aware of this and for over fifteen years they did not take efforts to reform the workplace.

⁷ "Grand Canyon National Park: Annual Park Recreation Visitation Graph," National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, [https://irma.nps.gov/Stats/SSRSReports/Park%20Specific%20Reports/Annual%20Park%20Recreation%20Visitation%20Graph%20\(1904%20-%20Last%20Calendar%20Year\)?Park=GRCA](https://irma.nps.gov/Stats/SSRSReports/Park%20Specific%20Reports/Annual%20Park%20Recreation%20Visitation%20Graph%20(1904%20-%20Last%20Calendar%20Year)?Park=GRCA).

⁸ "Park Statistics at Grand Canyon."

⁹ Michael F. Anderson, *Polishing the Jewel: An Administrative History of Grand Canyon National Park*, (Grand Canyon AZ: Grand Canyon Association, 2000), 10.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 34.

¹¹ *Technical Report: National Park Service Work Environment Survey*. (Ann Arbor: CFI Group, 2017), iii.

¹² *ibid.* iv.

The sex-based injustice of harassment spread across many parks varying from natural parks to historical parks and from fieldwork to clerical work. As a result, the NPS could not fix the problem without systematically addressing that harassment rather than in just a single incident. Yosemite's Superintendent, Don Neubacher, bullied, intimidated, and humiliated eighteen women since 2010.¹³ Overall, his actions were an expression of gender-based discrimination. The reports that were filed against him went to the Deputy Director of the Pacific West Region, and that official was actually his wife.¹⁴ His wife would conceal the complaints against him. This nepotism prevented a proper investigation of these cases and often made other women fearful of submitting complaints against him. The nepotism in the filing system allowed for the harassment to continue without safeguarding the victims from their boss.

Gender-based discrimination also occurred within clerical work. At the Denver Service Center, one woman took off for maternity leave, and upon returning, she was left out of meetings and encouraged to redistribute her projects because they were "too much of a burden" now that she had a child to tend.¹⁵ These stereotypes of the incapacity of women to work effectively after becoming a mother allowed for continuing practices of gender oppression.

Sexual assault is a national issue that occurs in many workplaces. The issue of sexual harassment has led to new laws and Congress has created standards for investigations. The Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (VAWA) called for funding towards investigation and prosecution of crimes against women and enforced automatic punishment. VAWA allocated \$1.6

¹³ Lyndsey Gilpin, "Yosemite's Superintendent Retires after Discrimination Allegations Surface," *High Country News*, September 23, 2016, https://www.hcn.org/articles/new-allegations-of-sexual-harassment-in-yosemite-yellowstone_

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ Lyndsey Gilpin, "How the National Park Service Is Failing Women," *High Country News*, December 12, 2016, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/48.21/how-the-park-service-is-failing-women>.

billion towards these investigations.¹⁶ In 2000, the Supreme Court determined in *United States v. Morrison*, that victims of sexual assault or domestic violence do not have the right to sue in federal jurisdiction.¹⁷ This court case made a section of VAWA unconstitutional. The Act's ineffectiveness was a result of the inadequate allocation of money because budgeting is determined yearly. The government could not enforce the investigation standards when funding ran out. In 2013, the reauthorization expanded protections to same-sex couples, Native Americans living on reservations, and undocumented immigrants.¹⁸ These expansions and protections are feeble since reauthorization is yearly. During the 2018-2019 Government Shutdown, VAWA was not reauthorized. Congress has had multiple short-term resolutions, but in March of 2019 for the third time since the start of the year, VAWA has expired.¹⁹

Beyond the issue of VAWA's allocation of money, there is also the problem of how the government will analyze and manage sexual assault evidence in the investigations. In 2016, President Obama signed the Survivors' Bill of Rights Act, which set out requirements for how government processes victims. Requirements were that the victim's medical care should not be charged to them; if the victim has a rape kit or any other evidence, it must be preserved as long as the statute of limitation for the crime.²⁰ However, this Bill of Rights does not apply to every sexual assault. Most cases are within local and state jurisdiction because of *United States v.*

¹⁶ Title IV- Violence Against Women of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, 42 U.S.C. 13701 (1994).

¹⁷ Linda Greenhouse, "The Supreme Court: The Court On Federalism; Women Lose Right To Sue Attackers In Federal Court," *The New York Times*, May 16, 2000, <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/05/16/us/supreme-court-court-federalism-women-lose-right-sue-attackers-federal-court.html>.

¹⁸ "Violence Against Women Act Reauthorization 2013," US Department of Justice, Updated March 26, 2015, <https://www.justice.gov/tribal/violence-against-women-act-vawa-reauthorization-2013-0>.

¹⁹ Emma Newburger, "Nancy Pelosi Unveils Bipartisan Reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act," *CNBC*, March 7, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/03/07/nancy-pelosi-unveils-reauthorization-of-the-violence-against-women-act.html>.

²⁰ Sexual Assault Survivors' Rights Act, 130 Stat. 966, (2016).

Morrison determined that federal jurisdiction could not hear lower cases.²¹ Thus, the protection that a person receives from the Bill of Rights is determined by the jurisdiction of the crime's location. For these rights to be enacted then the survivor must be pursuing legal prosecution. At the Grand Canyon, the women were investigated directly by the NPS's Human Resource and Equal Employment and not from the judges, thus these protections did not apply to them.²²

Outside of legislation, sexual harassment has become prominently covered in the news cycle because more people have spoken up about the issues. The news revealed Harvey Weinstein's accusations in October of 2017 when over eighty women accused, and the judicial system tried Weinstein for rape, sexual assault, and sexual abuse.²³ These accusations did not go unnoticed. On social media, victims began using #metoo with victims feeling empowered to tell their experience of sexual violence against them. From these allegations and social media coverage, the Weinstein Effect was born in America and internationally, which resulted in accusation against and prosecution of people of power at higher rates.²⁴ There was no escape from indictment for Weinstein and more than two hundred other powerful men.²⁵ Society is less willing to be complacent about harassment. The #metoo movement has allowed for people to notice the spread of sexual-based violence as more extensive and systematic than a few isolated cases. This movement sparked a social revolution of awareness and support.

²¹ *United States v. Morrison*, 529 U.S. 598 (2000).

²² *Investigative Report of Misconduct at the Grand Canyon River District*, 7.

²³ Nardine Saad, "Harvey Weinstein's Accusers: Full List Includes Fledgling Actresses and Hollywood Royalty," *Los Angeles Times*, May 25, 2018.
<https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/la-et-weinstein-accusers-list-20171011-htmlstory.html>.

²⁴ Meredith Worthen, "100 Powerful Men Accused of Sexual Misconduct in 2017," *Biography*, December 20, 2017,
<https://web.archive.org/web/20171228001933/https://www.biography.com/news/men-accused-of-sexual-misconduct-harvey-weinstein-2017>.

²⁵ Audrey Carlsen, et al, "#MeToo Brought Down 201 Powerful Men. Nearly Half of Their Replacements Are Women," *The New York Times*, October 29, 2018,
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/23/us/metoo-replacements.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FWeinstein%2C%20Harvey>.

The difference from the #metoo movement and the NPS is that with the latter the perpetrator extends to the culture of the workplace rather than being embodied by one person. For over 15 years, the Grand Canyon's employees knew about the systematic sexual harassment by the whole River District. One investigation into the River District found thirty-two complaints. River travel involves extensive journeys down the river every month with a crew and two leaders. One is the trip leader and they are colloquially called boatmen, and their duties include navigation, river safety, camping, food, and everything else that is river related. The project leader, who handles the mission of the voyage, and the other leader is the trip leader, who is responsible for the operation of the small craft and the crew's quality of life. The purpose of these trips may vary from education, scientific research, to river maintenance, which is what the project leader addresses.²⁶

In theory, the dual leadership set up should not foster sexual harassment. Many small voyages in secluded areas occur daily in the NPS as well as many other journeys in land-based agencies. However, scholars found that "sexual harassment is especially pervasive in male-dominated jobs, since it serves as means form male workers to reassert dominance and control over women colleagues, who otherwise would be their equals."²⁷ Another reason for this incident is that the culture of the River District is a "party vibe" with a lot of alcohol, resulting in the district's notorious fifteen-year history of harassment and hostility.²⁸ The River District did not establish a safe environment for women, which is why in September 2014 a request for an investigation along with thirteen complaints was sent to the Secretary of the Interior, Sally Jewell. To answer the letter, the Office of Inspector General completed a one-and-half-year investigation into the River District. The investigation totaled thirty-five complaints and

²⁶ *Investigative Report of Misconduct at the Grand Canyon River District*, 2.

²⁷ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 126.

²⁸ Joyce, "Out Here, No One Can Hear You Scream."

discovered another twenty-two people who experienced or witnessed sexual harassment or a hostile work environment while serving at the River District.²⁹

Within the Grand Canyon, and all workplaces, there are two types of harassment: hostile work environment and *quid pro quo*. A hostile work environment is when anyone causes repetitive uncomfortable treatment towards a person in the workplace.³⁰ This could be frequently undermining a person by demeaning someone based on their age, sex, race, religion, or sexual orientation. An example of a hostile work environment was submitted anonymously to the *High Country News* about the Grand Canyon.

A male coworker asked me when I thought we would hook up. ... Later, he yelled at me and snapped his fingers in my face. He backed me up against a hill, was towering over me, and I felt trapped. I squirmed away and started running back down to our quarters as he yelled after me, "Get back here!"³¹

The perpetrator was a coworker who used their authority to levee power and did so over a period of some time. These two distinctions make this a hostile work environment case.

The second form of harassment is *quid pro quo*, which is Latin for "something for something" and within sexual harassment refers to an exchange of sexual favors for job benefits.³² This type occurs most usually when a boss or supervisor demands sexual benefits from a subordinate. At the Grand Canyon, this relationship is exemplified between the boatmen and female-scientists. If a scientist did not take part in sexual advancements, then the boatmen

²⁹ *Investigative Report of Misconduct at the Grand Canyon River District*, 8.

³⁰ Rosemarie Skaine, *Power and Gender: Issues in Sexual Dominance and Harassment*, (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc, 1996).

³¹ Gilpin, "How the National Park Service Is Failing Women."

³² "EEO: What Are the Different Types of Sexual Harassment?" SHRM, January 12, 2018, <https://www.shrm.org/resourcesandtools/tools-and-samples/hr-qa/pages/typesofsexualharassment.aspx>. & "Enforcement Guidance: Policy Guidance on Current Issues of Sexual Harassment," EEOC, last modified 1990, <https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/publications/upload/currentissues.pdf>.

refused to take them to their research sites.³³ Boatmen used their power to force the exchange of sexual benefits for work.

One complaint occurred about the weekend of Halloween 2005. In celebration of the holiday, the crew of the science department and the boatmen opted to have a party once they completed their work. The party was lavish with costumes and a surplus of alcohol. This party seems like a casual after-work gathering, but the atypical element was that they were at work. They may not have been on duty, but it was at one of their campsites on the journey downriver, and nobody had the option to escape the party. Due to the location of the party, and the inclusion of alcohol and costumes, then boundaries were blurred “between the work and personal lives of park employees.”³⁴

At this party, the biologist’s intern, Anne³⁵, dressed as a butterfly with wings and a dress. While in the kitchen area, the boatman, Edward, walked up behind her, took her camera, forced his hand between her legs, and took a photo. Anne’s supervisor, Kate, stepped in and tried to diffuse the situation, but Edward’s supervisor wanted everyone to talk it over rather than filing a report.³⁶ By discussing the case at hand, the Park Service tried to avoid any risk of punishment. The Deputy Inspector General of the Department of Interior described the NPS’s culture as one of “silence and protecting” that “has kept harassment, discrimination, and retaliation in the

³³ Joyce, “Out Here, No One Can Hear You Scream.”

³⁴ *Improving NPS Workplace: Moving into a Second Century of Service: Working to Improve the National Park Service Workplace Environment, Hearing Before The Senate Subcommittee on National Parks, and Committee on Energy and Natural Resources*, 2017 Leg. (US. Senate 2017), Testimony of Mary L. Kendall, Deputy Inspector General For The US Department Of The Interior.

³⁵ All pseudonyms are the same as that used in “Out Here, No One Can Hear You Scream”. The OIG’s investigation uses job titles as description of the people involved, because some people involved are still working for the NPS. The reason people opted for pseudonyms were a fear of retaliation.

³⁶ Joyce, “Out Here, No One Can Hear You Scream.”

shadows.”³⁷ In this case, the women filed a report and the agency suspended Edward for thirty days.³⁸ He resigned from his job after these disciplinary actions. This incident was not Edward’s first punishment during the previous year. On June 2, 2005, he was suspended for five days for other sexual remarks he made towards Anne.³⁹ Edward’s legacy did not end there because the crew put a bust of Jesus with Edward’s name on it in their boat shop and thought of him as a martyr.⁴⁰ In his memory, the unit aimed to dismantle the work of the Anne’s and Kate’s science department by withholding food or refusing to take them or their coworkers to a research site. This tension could not continue at such high levels for any longer.

Consequently, David Uberuaga, the Grand Canyon’s superintendent, closed the River District in March of 2016. One of the four boatmen participating in the harassment and hostility relocated because the NPS did not want to fire him because of the shutdown. As a result, the heart of the culture that Uberuaga aimed to dissipate simply moved to another sector within the Grand Canyon.⁴¹ A side effect of this was that the NPS also had to transition their trips to the private sector and the other three boatmen were contracted with the private sector or became an NPS seasonal employee at another park.⁴² Thus, even though the other three boatmen were not working for the Grand Canyon River District anymore, they were not required to leave. Nevertheless, the aim of the Park Service closing the River District was a temporary solution to help institute a safe workplace. Instead, it allowed for the three boatmen to work either for the private sector or another NPS site.

³⁷ *Improving NPS Workplace: Moving into a Second Century of Service*

³⁸ *Investigative Report of Misconduct at the Grand Canyon River District*, 12.

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Joyce, “Out Here, No One Can Hear You Scream.”

⁴¹ Lyndsey Gilpin, “Grand Canyon Abolishes River District in Response to Sexual Harassment Allegations,” *High Country News*, April 1, 2016, <https://www.hcn.org/articles/grand-canyon-abolishes-river-district-in-response-to-sexual-harassment-allegations>.

⁴² *Investigative Report of Misconduct at the Grand Canyon River District*, 11.

Additionally, the two punishments given to Edward were not proportional to others given out at the Grand Canyon. When two female employees used phallic shape straws, which were brought by someone unaffiliated with the NPS, and were derogatorily dancing, they were suspended for fourteen days, and they did not get their contracts renewed.⁴³ Their actions were inappropriate but did not cause anyone any damage, while Edward's actions were an invasion of Anne's private space, while the straw did not intrude on anyone. The comparison between the females' punishment of fourteen days and no renewal in juxtaposition to Edward's thirty days and quitting reveals the inconsistency between the two gendered situations. Leaders enforced higher standards on women than their male counterparts in a way that delivered neither justice nor established a culture that would end the inappropriate actions of males in the workplace.

The supervisor that gave the fourteen-day suspension to the two women was ironically a woman, Deputy Superintendent Diane Chalfant. She punished the women harder than men, which indicates the power of the patriarchy even over women leaders. The men were allowed to express their sexuality more aggressively and not be punished as severely as the women. The punishment supports the notion that "boys will be boys" and their actions will not be scrutinized. Her aim in meting out this harsh punishment was to "change the culture of the river."⁴⁴ Chalfant's actions are that of the patriarchy, even as a female leader. Scholars claim "even a woman who gains access to a male occupation cannot escape its power, 'since she will modify her own subordination [but not remove it] only at the expense of that of other women'."⁴⁵ For Chalfant to change the culture, then the relationship towards gender in the NPS must change and not merely through the impositions of punishments.

⁴³ *ibid.*, 12. & Joyce, "Out Here, No One Can Hear You Scream."

⁴⁴ *Investigative Report of Misconduct at the Grand Canyon River District*, 11.

⁴⁵ Bagilhole, *Women in Non-Traditional Occupations*, 33.

These episodes indicated that leaders took inadequate steps to stop the agency from oppressing women, but continued to lead in ways that silenced the complaints. In the NPS, the disparity in leadership based on gender is evident based on statistics. In the fiscal year 2015, out of the 72% of female administrative staff, only 34% of them are a high-level staff of GS-15 and Senior Executive Service.⁴⁶ These women could have reformed the Park Service to make it more amenable to preventing these abuses, but as supervisors, they were still a part of the patriarchal culture. Chalfant and Uberuaga should have reported these disciplinary actions to Human Resources and the Equal Employment Office; however, they did not file them.⁴⁷ These actions suppressed the voices of the victims and allowed the culture to continue.

No leaders can create a new culture within a few months by merely closing the River District or implementing a new policy. Instead, the NPS must systematically begin combating the problem of the culture. To isolate and discover how deep the issue of sexual harassment was in its culture, the NPS carried out a service-wide work environment survey in 2017. The study was completed in both seasons to ensure that all seasonal employees received it. The surveys discovered that an estimated 38.7% of park employees had experienced harassment, assault, or both, within the prior year of 2016-2017 and that typically harassment was continual and not a singular experience.⁴⁸ The regularity of these incidents made the structural change of the Park Service an inherent necessity.

The Secretary of the Interior, Ryan Zinke, spoke out about this issue: “all employees have the right to work in an environment that is safe and harassment-free.”⁴⁹ This fundamental theory

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁸ *Technical Report: National Park Service (NPS) Work Environment Survey January-March 2017*. (Ann Arbor, MI, CFI Group, 2017), iii.

⁴⁹ Ryan Zinke, “Outlines Action Plan to Combat Harassment and Discrimination” (speech, Grand Canyon, October 13, 2017), DOI’s Press Releases,

is a right that all employees should have because of Title VII of The Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1986, the Supreme Court determined in *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, that Title VII would recognize sexual harassment and sexual discrimination.⁵⁰ The current events led Zinke to implement a Zero Tolerance policy, which he announced two weeks after the NPS workplace surveys were released. The announcement was at the Grand Canyon, the location of the sexual harassment investigation that catalyzed the investigations. Within the Department of Interior, the NPS had the highest percentage of employees who experienced sexual harassment, and the NPS is not the only agency with sites in secluded areas.⁵¹

The EEOC outlined the twelve risk factors that make a workplace have an increased chance of sexual harassment.⁵² Of the twelve, the NPS has five of them. This first is a homogeneous workforce with a lack of diversity within the workplace. The NPS is 83% white and 62.8% male in 2016.⁵³ NPS has a decentralized workplace. Not only does 89% of the NPS not work in DC, the headquarters of the NPS and all of DOI's bureaus, but rather it is common for workers to be connected with a central headquarter but do most of their fieldwork elsewhere, sometimes in isolated areas.⁵⁴ Increase time out in the fields produces more experiences of geographical isolation, which is one of the twelve criteria. Employee's housing is also separated. They are sometimes within secluded areas of national parks and where visitors and other Rangers might not be near for extended periods.⁵⁵ Since frequently employee's homes are within their

<https://www.doi.gov/pressreleases/secretary-zinke-outlines-action-plan-combat-harassment-and-discrimination>.

⁵⁰ *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, 477 U.S. 57 (1986).

⁵¹ *ibid.*, 3.

⁵² "Chart of Risk Factors for Harassment and Responsive Strategies," US EEOC, accessed March 7, 2017, https://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/task_force/harassment/risk-factors.cfm.

⁵³ Emily Yehle, "Park Service Grapples with 'Frustrated' Workforce," *Environment & Energy News*, May 31, 2016, <https://www.eenews.net/stories/1060038071>.

⁵⁴ "#InteriorToo, 7.

⁵⁵ Gilpin, "Yosemite's Superintendent Retires after Discrimination Allegations Surface."

work, their personal lives may not be disconnected from their work lives. Another basis is that no matter the geographical location if a workplace has power disparity then it will have a high rate of harassment.⁵⁶ This rate is precisely the case with the NPS: of the thirty-seven percent of permanent female Rangers, one-third of them were supervisors in 2004.⁵⁷ Women may be assuming leadership positions in ways that do not allow their leadership styles to change the culture of workers. Finally, the Equal Employment Opportunity Committee outlines that social discourse outside the workplace is an indicator of workplace harassment.⁵⁸

The fact that NPS has almost half of the precursors for workplace harassment suggests it is logical that harassment might be present in its work culture. However, the steps that the NPS has taken to combat these issues are not effective enough change in the climate that allows for harassment. In 2016, the NPS implemented mandatory online training aimed at establishing a universal response to harassment.⁵⁹ To overcome the obstacle of lack of channels of communication, the NPS set up a confidential harassment hotline. The other central reform involved the process of filing complaints. The NPS established an ombudsperson office and the Equal Employment Office now reported directly to the NPS Director.⁶⁰ Within the same year, the DOI was recommended the hiring of six new lawyers to address the 120 harassment claims from all parks.⁶¹

The following year in 2017, the NPS consolidated their response into a four-prong initiative: standardize and strengthen policy, increase investigation, expand training, and support

⁵⁶ #InteriorToo, 7.

⁵⁷ Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, xiii.

⁵⁸ #InteriorToo, 7.

⁵⁹ Kirby-Lynn Shedlowski, "Superintendent Dave Ueberuaga Announces Retirement," National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/grca/learn/news/superintendent-dave-uberuaga-announces-retirement.htm>.

⁶⁰ #InteriorToo, 8.

⁶¹ *ibid.*

employees when they speak up.⁶² These initiatives are an important advance, but they do not address why the NPS, and many other workplaces, have many harassment cases or do not aim at fixing the outlined areas of risk, that the Equal Employment Opportunity Committee describes as the “Twelve Risk Factors for Harassment.”⁶³

When the original River District investigation began, the NPS was unaware of the extent of workplace harassment. The director of the NPS in 2017 Jonathan Jarvis even stated that “[he] hoped that the Grand Canyon was an anomaly.”⁶⁴ He did not have the moral authority to investigate these issues, because of his own ethics charges against him. He had published a book about the NPS and profited from it and resulting in him being stripped of the authority to oversee ethics programs.⁶⁵ The ethics violations did not end there; Secretary Zinke stepped down after three ethics violations for staying involved in his foundation, which was selling land for oil deals, not granting two tribes to open casinos after unethical lobbying, and using DOI funding to pay for his wife’s travel.⁶⁶ Finally, he stepped down, when the NPS had a lawsuit filed against it for gender-based discrimination.⁶⁷ This was the lawsuit mentioned at the end of chapter two when Michelle Schonzeit was passed over for a job because the hiring agent did not think women should be leaders in law enforcement.

The culture of the NPS is at the root of the harassment issue. To Mary L. Kendall, the Deputy Inspector General of the Department of the Interior, the culture was the result of

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Lyndsey Gilpin, “The National Park Service Has a Big Sexual Harassment Problem,” *The Atlantic*, December 15, 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2016/12/park-service-harassment/510680/>.

⁶⁵ Corbin Hiar, “Jarvis Stripped Of Ethics Post After Unauthorized Book,” *Environment & Energy News*, February 26, 2016, <https://www.eenews.net/stories/1060033086>.

⁶⁶ Umair Irfan, “Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke Might Face a Criminal Investigation: Allegations of Improprieties Have Caught the Attention of President Trump,” *Vox*, November 5, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/2018/10/31/18044860/ryan-zinke-interior-investigation-ethics-justice>.

⁶⁷ Hotakainen, “Lawsuit: ‘The #MeToo Movement Has Now Entered ... Interior.’”

nepotism, sexism, isolation, and silence.⁶⁸ However, this culture was not established during the fifteen years of hostility at the River District; instead, it was the result of generations of patriarchy. Investigations aimed at surface-level issues of the spread of harassment within the hierarchy and across geography. However, none of the improvements recommended by the NPS or DOI addressed how to dismantle the culture or even possible solutions such as sex and name-blind applications.

The current solutions are not taking into respect the culture of the NPS, which allows the agency to fall into five of the Equal Employment Opportunity Committee's twelve risk factors for harassment. The solutions should aim at decreasing the influences of the risk factors and must take into account the multiple variables that apply to different stakeholders. The NPS will continue to have isolation, but the service does not need to remain remote. Instead, the Park Service could use technology to mitigate and to fight for communication that prevents harassment and hostility. No matter the solution, the duty to reshape the NPS is a real challenge. As a single person is not the root of the issue, making the culture is the main issue within the NPS. Inevitably, the NPS must use these reports as a way to reshape the service to be more inclusive, safe, and equitable.

One option for a solution is Alteristic's Green Dot programs, which is an anti-sexual harassment program that teaches prevention, rather than merely arguing that harassment is unacceptable.⁶⁹ The program teaches direct interventions and how to mitigate and diffuse situations. This program has successfully been integrated into the US Air Force, private banking corporations, and educational institutions varying in grade level. Green Dot has been the new

⁶⁸ *Improving NPS Workplace.*

⁶⁹ "Workplaces," Alteristic.

training program for thirteen NPS locations across the US.⁷⁰ Green Dot could be implemented across all of NPS sites to teach intervention and stop the persistence of sexual harassment in the NPS.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

CONCLUSION

The NPS Changing for the Future and not the Present

From this historical analysis of women in the National Park Service (NPS), it is evident that women did not immediately benefit from legislative changes promoting women's rights. Instead, women in national parks experienced a lag time when the law began to impact their lives. In the 1920s, the 19th Amendment granted women's suffrage but did not impact women in national parks that enforced patriarchal practices. During the Civil Rights Movement, all three branches aimed to establish equality, but the NPS did not allow women to join the ranks of Park Rangers with equal job titles and uniforms. Within the last half-decade, legislation addressed sexual assault and harassment in the Violence Against Women Act and the Survivors Bill of Rights, but the NPS still had the knowledge and a fifteen-year legacy of sexual harassment. To change the experiences of women in the NPS in the future, legislative efforts must be made now.

A potential constitutional amendment that could fix gendered inequalities is the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The original ERA proposed in 1923 read, as follows:

Section 1: Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Section 2: The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3: This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.¹

The vagueness of the amendment does not address the many issues that still need to be answered in the United States before full equality is obtained. For instance, women are paid less than men and are more likely to live in poverty, but items marketed to women are more expensive.² In 2018, women are not equally represented in Fortune 500 CEOs, politics, and leadership in the NPS.³ The problems of economic and representation with sex are not going to be fixed by the ERA.

Instead, the ERA would be similar to the Fourteenth Amendment, which granted equal protections to African Americans.⁴ It did not eliminate racism, but it allowed for the Supreme Court to practice strict scrutiny as the judicial review, which is the way that the Supreme Court interprets the Constitution.⁵ The Fourteenth Amendment is a part of the Constitution, which means that only another amendment may undermine it. For instance, the Twenty-First Amendment repealed the Eighteenth Amendment and ended prohibition. Therefore, an amendment is more critical to the protection of citizens because it cannot be overturned easily. A U.S. Constitutional amendment requires a two-thirds majority in the House of Representatives or at a national convention, as well as three-fourths of states or state legislatures.

Acts are not as strong as an amendment, because they are a part of the US Code. Laws do not require as much of Congress to agree on an issue for it to become a law. Only 51% percent of

¹ “Equal Rights Amendment, 1972,” in *Women’s America*, ed. Linda K. Kerber, Jane Sherron De Hart, Cornelia Hughes Dayton, Judy Tzu-Chun Wu (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 746-747.

² Nikki Graf et al., “The narrowing, but persistent, gender gap in pay” Pew Research Center, March 22, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/03/22/gender-pay-gap-facts/>.

³ Valentina Zarya, “Women make Up 5% of Fortune 500 CEOs in 2018,” *Fortune*, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://fortune.com/2018/05/21/women-fortune-500-2018/>.

⁴ “Doesn’t the 14th Amendment Already Guarantee Women Equal Rights Under the Law?” ERA Education Project, ERA Education Project, 2013–2015, <http://eraeducationproject.com/doesnt-the-14th-amendment-already-guarantee-women-equal-rights-under-the-law/>.

⁵ *ibid.*

Congress and the U.S. President must agree for a bill to become a law. Since these are both elected officials, then they ideally would vote representatively of their constituents. Acts are also inspected by the check and balance system because court cases can declare specific laws unconstitutional, which is not the case for an amendment because it is the Constitution.

From the previous eras, Jane Addams' Labor Laws, the Equal Pay Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Violence Against Women Act, and the Survivor's Bill of Rights Act are all laws, and at any time, new laws may be created to overturn them or the Supreme Court may declare one unconstitutional. This is what occurred regarding the Violence Against Women Act with the *United States v. Morrison* determining that federal jurisdiction could not hear lower cases.⁶ Therefore, the ERA would protect rights already established by placing equality in the Constitution, thus would require court cases to apply strict scrutiny with judicial review. Therefore, the laws that did not immediately change the culture of the NPS will not vanish.

The NPS cannot make the ERA a part of the Constitution and cannot create women's equality in society because they are only a bureaucracy. The agency can take its power in preserving history to commemorate women. The NPS has designated sites that are supposed to encapsulate the inclusion of women and contextualize their experiences with the built landscape. The NPS has identified 13 national historical parks, national historic sites, and national monuments that represent women's history.⁷ However, a few of these sites are merely a statue. In Washington DC, Mary McLeod Bethune is honored with both a statue in Lincoln Park and the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site.⁸ The NPS considers both sites of commemorating women's history, but the statue is simply a symbolic figure, while the latter

⁶ *United States v. Morrison*, 529 U.S. 598 (2000).

⁷ "Experience More About Women's History," National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/womenshistory/index.htm>.

⁸ "Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site," National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/mamc/index.htm>.

does teach about Bethune's work with racial and gender equality.⁹ To move forward, the NPS must create clearer standards about when a site will be designated as women's history. For instance, the NPS calls the Statue of Liberty a women's history site, but that site tells the story of immigration to America with the feminization of a statue.¹⁰ Therefore, the larger picture of the site is immigration, not women.

The NPS does have parks like the Rosie the Riveter WWII Home Front National Historical Park, Women's Rights National Park, and other parks take women's experiences into the full account. Lowell National Historical Park commemorates women entering factories during the Industrial Revolution.¹¹ Belmont-Paul Women's Equality National Monument tells the experience of women gaining the right to vote.¹² First Ladies National Historic Site honors the lives of America's First Ladies.¹³ Thus, the NPS does have sites that do an excellent job of remembering women's experiences, but the agency must determine better standards of what makes these sites women's history. Additionally, all sites have women associated with their history, but the NPS does not tell the full story. Women were always a part of America, even when they were not given a voice. Thus, battlefields must remember the woman's role in aiding war efforts, historic sites must remember women in that era, and environmental sites must remember the women that broke glass ceilings at the site. For gender equality to be achieved in the NPS, the agency must include women in the workplace and acknowledge their historical contributions to the NPS. Efforts must be made now to craft a future of gender inclusion.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ "Statue of Liberty," National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/stli/index.htm>.

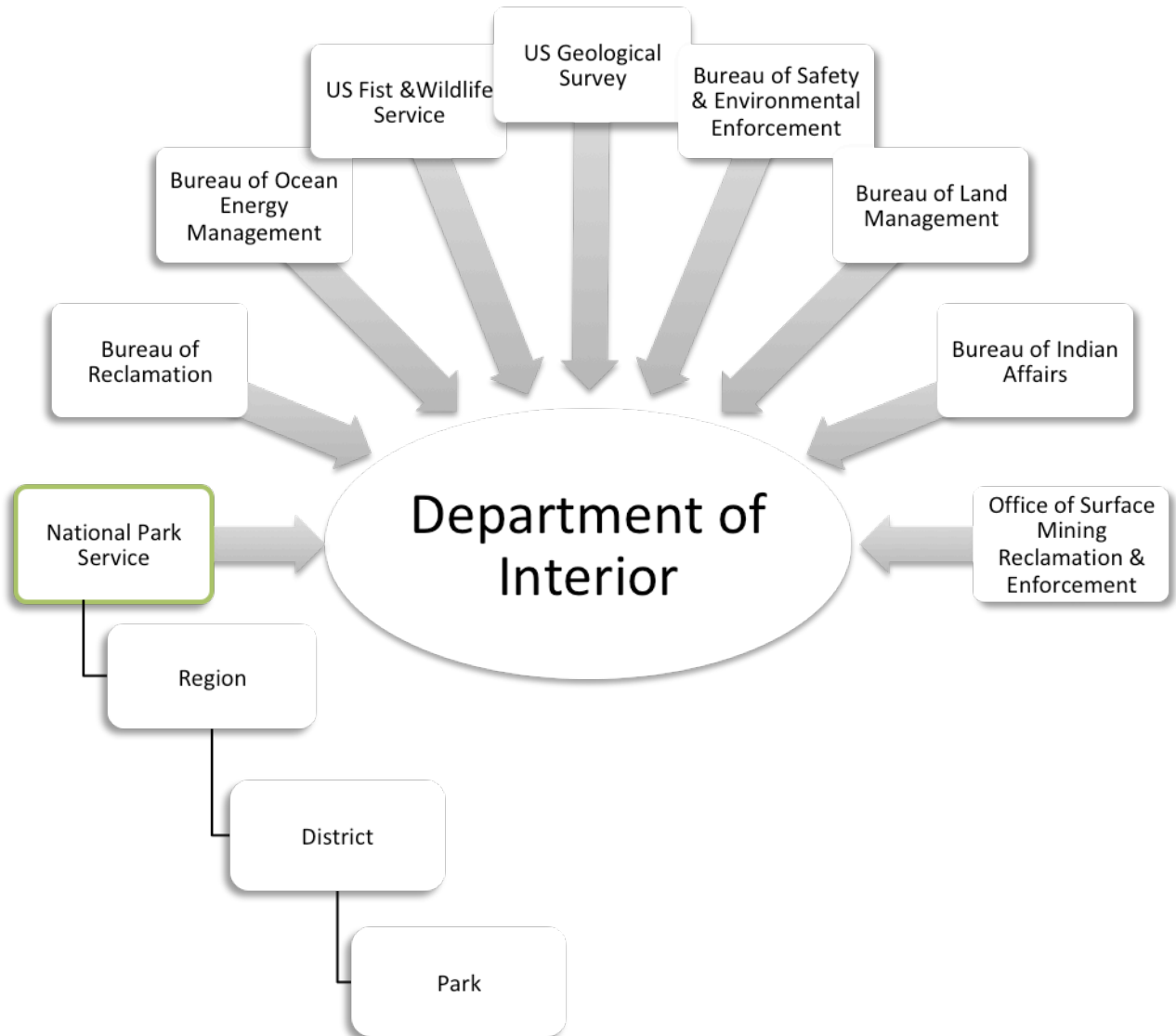
¹¹ "Experience More About Women's History."

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ *ibid.*

Legislation and social change did not immediately make misogyny dissipate from the NPS culture. Therefore, if the ERA was passed, then the next generation of female Park Rangers could enter the NPS with more power to contest the constraints of rigid gender norms. This would continue the empowerment of women to follow their passions contributing to a culture in which, all genders are equal and active members of the NPS.

Appendix



Appendix A: The Bureaus of the DOI and Hierarchy of the NPS



KEY	
●	Park Units
●	Female Sites
●	Chapter's sites

Appendix B: Map of Continental USA's National Parks¹
<https://arcg.is/0j0X88>

¹ "Park Unit Centroids," National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2019, <https://public-nps.opendata.arcgis.com/datasets/national-park-service-park-unit-centroids>.

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